

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7938

USMISSION USUN

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 2248

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MARR CY

SUBJECT: UNFICYP DISCUSSIONS AT UN

SUMMARY: SECTION A BELOW CONSTITUTES EMBASSY'S DRAFT OF INFORMAL WRITTEN RESPONSE BY USUN TO UNSYG DRAFT "WORKING PAPER ON REDUCTION OF UNFICYP, 27 SEPT. 1973." SECTION B CONSTITUTES SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR CHANGES IN LANGUAGE OF THAT WORKING PAPER, IF OPPORTUNITY ARISES TO COMMENT SO SPECIFICALLY. SECTION C IS OUR EVALUATION OF NEW SITUATION AND OPPORTUNITIES IN UNFICYP AS RESULT OF DRAWDOWN FOR UNEF, WHICH WE HOPE USUN WILL BELIEVE IT OPPORTUNE TO BEGIN DISCUSSING INFORMALLY WITH UNSYG. END SUMMARY.

SECTION A. DRAFT WRITTEN REPLY TO UNSYG

1. USG BELIEVES UNFICYP AND UNSYG HAVE MADE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO STUDY OF UNFICYP'S FUTURE WITH DRAFT WORKING PAPER OF SEPT 27. DECISION TO PROCEED WITH PHASE 1 CUT,
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AND PROPOSED PHASE 2 SHIFT TO AN INTERMEDIATE MIXED OPERATION

COMPRISING GROUND TROOPS AND OBSERVER/RECONNAISSANCE TEAMS, ARE VALUABLE SYSTEMATIC STEPS TOWARD A RATIONAL UNFICYP STRUCTURE.

2. CYPRUS CRISIS IS TEN YEARS OLD, AND RELATIVE STALEMATE ALREADY SIX YEARS OLD. ON BASIS OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE STATUS OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE TO ASSUME THAT SOME DRAMATIC SOLUTION IS IMMEDIATELY IN PROSPECT. A SERIOUS LOOK IS NECESSARY AS TO WHAT IF ANY ROLE THE UN CAN PLAY IN THIS CONTINUING SITUATION, AND THE WORKING PAPER IS A VALUABLE BEGINNING.

3. USG BELIEVES THAT A CONTINUED UN PRESENCE IS DESIRABLE, PERHAPS FOR A SUSTAINED PERIOD. ITS VALUE LIES IN ITS ROLE AS A MEDIATOR AND BUFFER BETWEEN GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIPS. IF IT IS TO BE SUSTAINED, IT MUST BE REALISTIC IN COST.

4. THE PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTY WHICH USG FINDS WITH THE PRESENT DRAFT WORKING PAPER LIES IN PARAS 6 AND 7. THESE PARAGRAPHS REST ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT EVEN A 16 PERCENT CUT FROM PHASE 1 LEVEL IS DANGEROUS IN THE ABSENCE OF SOME EXPLICIT GUARANTEES FROM THOSE INVOLVED. IF THE GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOTS, GREECE AND TURKEY, COULD IN FACT PROVIDE MEANINGFUL ASSURANCES AS SUGGESTED IN PARA 6 THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR UNFICYP. PARAGRAPH 6 IMPLIES THAT FURTHER STABILIZATION IS REQUIRED BEFORE LIMITED PHASE 2 CUTS CAN BE TAKEN. IN FACT, THE SITUATION HAS BEEN STABILIZED FOR SIX YEARS, WHICH HAS REFLECTED A HIGH DEGREE OF SELF RESTRAINT ON BOTH SIDES AND OF WILLINGNESS TO CREATE THE MECHANISMS AND PROCEDURES TO AVOID LARGE-SCALE MILITARY CONFLICT.

5. UNFICYP AT ITS PRESENT SIZE WOULD BE INADEQUATE TO STOP FIGHTING BETWEEN GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOTS IF THE TWO SIDES WERE INTENT UPON COMBAT. YET UNFICYP IS TOO LARGE FOR THE ROLE OF MEDIATION AND OF ASSISTING THE TWO SIDES IN AVOIDING COMBAT. IN FACT, AT THIS STAGE, THE VERY SIZE OF UNFICYP MAY BE INHIBITING THE CONTINUED EVOLUTION OF A PEACEFUL MODUS VIVENDI BETWEEN GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOTS.

6. USG RECOMMENDS IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE 2, WITHOUT IMPOSING PRECONDITIONS WHICH ARE UNLIKELY TO BE MET AND WHICH THEM-

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SELVES SERVE EFFECTIVELY TO BLOCK ANY PROGRESS TOWARD RATIONALIZATION OF UNFICYP. USG ENDORSES THE PROPOSAL TO MOVE TO THE PHASE 2 MIXED OPERATION, AS A JUDICIOUS AND CAUTIOUS PROCEDURE. THE FURTHER EVOLUTION DESCRIBED IN PARA 8 OF THE WORKING PAPER SHOULD HOWEVER BE SEEN AS A PRESENT PLANNING GOAL RATHER THAN AN ASPIRATION FOR SOME INDEFINITE FUTURE.

7. USG BELIEVES THAT UNCIVPOL HAS PERHAPS BEEN SLIGHTED IN

PRESENT PLANNING. SINCE UNCIVPOL'S PRIMARY FUNCTION IS PRE-
CISELY THAT OF ANTICIPATING AND MEDIATING DISPUTES,
IT WOULD SEEM TO OFFER AN IMPORTANT VEHICLE FOR THE EVOLUTION
OF UNFICYP TOWARD AN OBSERVER/MEDIATOR PRESENCE. USG WOULD
QUESTION WHETHER UNCIVPOL SHOULD BE REDUCED AS PROPOSED IN THE
WORKING DRAFT, AND BELIEVES RATHER THAT PREPARATIONS SHOULD
BE MADE FOR ITS CLOSER INTEGRATION INTO UNFICYP WORK AND
FOR IT TO TAKE OVER AN INCREASING SHARE OF THE MEDIATORY
TASKS.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 2248

8. ANY DECISION ON THE FUTURE OF UNFICYP MUST TAKE ACCOUNT
OF FINANCIAL REALITIES. THE U.S. MADE A SUBSTANTIAL SPECIAL
CONTRIBUTION IN 1972 IN HOPES THAT OTHERS WOULD MATCH THAT
EFFORT AND REDUCE UNFICYP'S DEFICIT. THE RESULTS WERE DIS-
APPOINTING. BASED ON THAT EXPERIENCE, USG BELIEVES THE UNSYG
MUST DEAL WITH REAL EXPECTATIONS FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT. IF
OTHERS BELIEVE THAT AN OPERATION OF THE CURRENT MAGNITUDE
CONTINUES TO BE NECESSARY (WHICH WE DO NOT), USG BELIEVES
THEY SHOULD ALSO INDICATE WHAT FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION THEY PLAN

TO MAKE TO PERMIT UNFICYP TO CONTINUE AT THIS SCALE.

9. (NOTE: WE ASSUME THIS LANGUAGE CAN BE DRAWN ON FOR A WRITTEN PRESENTATION TO UNSYG, FOR INCLUSION IN HIS REPORT (IF HE IS WILLING), OR EVEN FOR THE U.S. STATEMENT AT THE DEC UNSC MEETING.)

SECTION B; DETAILED COMMENTS ON WORKING PAPER

10. SUGGEST PARA 4 READS "THE SECRETARY GENERAL CONSIDERS IT CONFIDENTIAL

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DESIRABLE TO EFFECT A SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS, BOTH FOR ECONOMY AND BECUASE A REDESIGNED FORCE WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE EFFICIENTLY IN THE CURRENT SITUATION IN CYPRUS."

11. PARA 5 SUGGEST DELETION PHRASE "PROVIDED CERTAIN PRE-REQUISITES ARE MET."

12. PARA 6 SUGGEST READ "THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS MADE THESE PROPOSALS ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED WILL MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN, IN COOPERATION WITH UNFICYP, THEIR PRESENT POLICY OF ENSURING THAT SIGNIFICANT INTERCOMMUNAL CLASHES, ESPECIALLY SHOOTING INCIDENTS, ARE PREVENTED."

13. SUGGEST PARA 7 READ "THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL ISSUE REVISED DIRECTIVES TO THE COMMANDER OF UNFICYP..."

14. SUGGEST THAT FOLLOWING PARA 8 ADD "ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF UNFICYP INTO AN OBSERVER/MEDIATOR GROUP, WITH ADDITIONAL REDUCTIONS IN PERSONNEL, WILL BE FORWARDED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE CONCLUSION OF THIS MANDATE PERIOD."

15. FOLLOWING PARA 10: "ASSUMING THE CREATION OF THE OBSERVER/ RECONNAISSANCE GROUPS PROVES SUCCESSFUL, IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THE ENTIRE FORCE WILL BE CONVERTED INTO AN OBSERVER/MEDIATOR GROUP, AS CONDITIONS ALLOW."

16. PARA 11 DELETE "AS WELL AS OF THE UNFICYP CIVILIAN POLICE."
ADD: "THERE WILL BE NO IMMEDIATE CHANGE IN THE SIZE OF UNCIVPOL. AS THE MILITARY FORCES ARE REDUCED, THE MEDIATING/CONCILIATING FUNCTIONS OF THE CIVILIAN POLICE WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT."

SECTION C. PROPOSED ADJUSTMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF UNFICYP
DRAWDOWN FOR UNEF

17. UNEF SITUATION IS MOVING SO FAST THAT WE ARE NOT INCLUDING

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN SECTIONS A AND B ABOVE. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE FOLLOWING ADJUSTMENTS IN UNFICYP CAN OPPORTUNELY BE MADE AS RESULT OF THE DRAWDOWN FOR UNEF, AND WE SUGGEST
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THEY BE INCLUDED INSOFAR AS THE DEPT AGREES.

18. WE GATHER THAT IRISH AND FINNS WOULD HAVE TROUBLE REPLACING UNFICYP FORCES WITH QUALIFIED MILITARY UNITS. AUSTRIANS MAY SUFFER THE SAME PROBLEM. ONLY THE SWEDES HAVE REBUILT THEIR CONTINGENT HERE, AND THAT WAS AN ACCIDENTAL BYPRODUCT OF THEIR ROTATION SCHEDULE. ALMOST ENTIRE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE ISLAND IS BEING PATROLLED NOW BY BRITISH ALONE. WE ASSUME UNSYG WILL WISH TO KEEP THE BALANCED AND MULTINATIONAL NATURE OF UNFICYP. AT SAME TIME, WE DOUBT WISDOM OF ANY PROPOSAL TO SUBSTITUTE NEW UNFICYP MEMBERS FOR IRISH, FINNS, ETC. IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT CHARGED DEBATE ON WHO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, SUCH PROPOSAL COULD RESULT IN THE INTRODUCTION OF ANTI-U.S "NON-ALIGNED", PRO-ARABS OR EAST EUROPEANS, NONE OF WHICH WOULD BE TO OUR ADVANTAGE.

19. WE RECOMMEND THAT UNSYG TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CONTRIBUTORS' INABILITY TO PROVIDE TRAINED TROOPS BY SUGGESTING THAT CONTINGENTS BE REPLACED WITH A MUCH SMALLER NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS (WITH MORE OFFICERS OR UNCIVPOL TYPES) WHO WOULD BE USED TO BEEF UP THE OBSERVER/MEDIATOR ROLE INTO WHICH UNFICYP IS PROFESSEDLY MOVING. A SMALL PRESENCE FROM EACH OF THE THREE COUNTRIES WOULD KEEP THEIR FORMAL PRESENCE AND WOULD PROVIDE USEFUL PERSONNEL. A FEW CIVILIAN OR MILITARY OFFICERS FROM EACH, WITH APPROPRIATE CLERICAL AND DRIVER PERSONNEL, WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO SHOW FLAG AND CARRY OUT USEFUL ROVING OBSERVER TASKS. (FONMIN DIRGEN SAYS GOC UNCONVINCED AT SIZE OF UNFICYP, BUT WANTS TO AVOID "BRITISH/CANADIAN SHOW.")

20 FROM INFORMAL CONVERSATION WITH UNFICYP OFFICERS, WE ASSUME SUCH SMALL UNITS COULD MORE CHEAPLY BE HOUSED IN HOTELS OR RENTED HOUSES THAN IN MILITARY CAMPS MAINTAINED FOR THE PURPOSE.

21. WE ASSUME THAT UNSYG WOULD VIEW SUCH A SHIFT AS PART OF AN OVERALL CHANGE TO OBSERVER/MEDIATOR FORCE, BUT WE LEAVE TACTICS TO USUN AS TO HOW TO PRESENT. ASSUMING UNSYG WILL BE RELUCTANT TO MOVE PRECIPITATELY, WE BELIEVE USEFUL INTERMEDIATE STEP (WHICH IS CLOSE TO WORKING PAPER RECOMMENDATION) WOULD BE
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TO KEEP SOME MILITARY CAPABILITY IN THREE OR FOUR CONTINGENTS,
INCLUDING NEUTRAL SWEDES. RESPONSIBILITIES WOULD BE REDEFINED
SO THAT VARIOUS OBSERVER/MEDIATOR TEAMS WOULD RETAIN AREA
RESPONSIBILITIES, BUT IF EMERGENCY SHOULD ARISE THOSE WITHOUT
THEIR OWN RESERVE COMPONENTS WOULD DRAW BY PREARRANGEMENT UPON
OTHERS.

22. NOW THAT SOME OF THE HORSES HAVE ESCAPED, WE
RECOMMEND LOCKING THE BARN DOOR.

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